Naming Names: Big Drug Firm Violators, P. 2

CIA Arrogance: U-2s Secretly Given Chiang Within A Few Weeks of the 1960 Summit They Wrecked, P. 3

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Afraid of Everything But War

Calmly considered, the Soviet note on Cuba is nowhere as near belligerent as our headlines make it out to be. It announces another postponement in that Berlin deadline. It says the Soviet Union has no intention of establishing a base in Cuba, and that the arms being sent there are defensive. It declares that the number of technicians accompanying these arms are small compared to those sent into Cuba to aid its industrial and agricultural development. It pointedly contrasts the President's request for 150,000 more reservists with the recent release of trained soldiers from the Soviet Army and the normal call-up of a new age class. As an earnest of peaceful intent, it emphasizes this routine replacement of trained men with raw recruits at a time when the equipment they must handle is so complex. Given the nature of men and their nation-states, all this had to be layered over with strong words or it would look like "knuckling under."

We Cultivate Obtuseness

There is also a defensive ring in the note's angry protest (see box) against the uproar here over this limited aid to Cuba when we so take for granted not only our ring of bases around the Soviet bloc but the presence of our war fleets in the seas adjacent to it. What if there were a Soviet 6th Fleet in the Caribbean as ours is in the Mediterranean, and a Soviet 7th fleet between Hawaii and California? It is a pity that the State Department's spokesmen encourage obtuseness by shrugging this off as propaganda. The safety and welfare of our country depends more than ever on a thoughtful electorate, prepared to try and see the world through the other fellow's eyes. There is much, however unpalatable, that could be learned from the Soviet note. It touches the crucial spot when it says it is not the military equipment in Cuba "it is the revolutionary spirit you fear." The Alliance for Progress is poisoned by hemispheric awareness of the swift oil and sugar interest crackdown on Cuba when it sought to accomplish the social reforms we claim to favor. Whatever Castro's headstrong follies, this compromises us in Latin eyes and will set its common people and intellectuals against us should we stage a new attack on Cuba.

The Soviet note suggests that instead of mobilizing reservists "it would be more sensible if the Government of the United States, displaying wisdom, would offer a kind gesture —would establish diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba." They can safely give this good advice, knowing we won't take it. If there were any humor left we'd resolve the crisis in universal laughter by taking up the idea on condition that Khrushchev show a similar magnanimity toward Albania. Hoxha is the only other fly-weight dictator with the nerve to thumb his nose at neighboring Big Brother. Come to think of it we might blow off some of our aggressive steam by sending military technicians and supplies to this Soviet rebel as we once sent them to Tito, the first Castro to appear on their side of the fence.

No such healing perspectives were opened up by our official reactions. The Secretary of State emerged from a Congressional briefing to tell reporters stalwartly, "we are not nervous or afraid." The truth is that everybody seems to be afraid of everything but war. People are afraid to look at the situation from Khrushchev's point of view, or Castro's, lest they be accused of giving aid and comfort to an enemy. Mr. Rusk is afraid to talk sense publicly among the idiots on Capitol Hill for fear of being labelled an appeaser. Everybody is haunted by fear of losing an office or an election. The President asks Congress for call-up authorizations he already has and for 150,000 more men he doesn't need because he fears what the Republicans will say in November. What we ought to mobilize is a quiet conference here and abroad to explore ways to resolve the Berlin and Cuban disputes peacefully. But this implies some compromise, and everybody is afraid a readiness to compromise will be taken as a sign of weakness. Khrushchev, too, fears to talk sense without rattling rockets though this ruins any good effect by burying conciliatory moves in hostile threats. The H-bomb? The danger to world civilization? The facts of the thermonuclear age do not seem really to have registered on Mr. Khrushchev or anyone else. On Capitol Hill they're as ready to court a mindless popularity with inflammatory rejoinders as if the war were to be fought with flintlocks. Nobody seems to be willing to risk anything for peace—anything, that is, but the human race.

What They Fear and Resent

"The United States of America has ringed the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries with bases. What have they stationed there—tractors? Are they perhaps growing rice, wheat, potatoes or some other farm crops there. No, they have brought armaments there in their ships, and these armaments stationed along the frontiers of the Soviet Union—in Turkey, Iran, Greece, Italy, Britain, Holland, Pakistan . . . are said to be there lawfully by right. . . . But to others the U.S. does not permit this even for defense. . . .

"The United States, for instance, is now mobilizing allegedly because our merchant ships are proceeding to Cuba. At the same time U.S. ships, not merchant ships . . . but warships, the entire 6th Fleet of the U.S., are in the Mediterranean. . . . The 7th U.S. Fleet is in the Taiwan Strait . . . while American admirals and generals, as if competing with each other, prattle . . . about the 6th and 7th fleets being designed for attack, for destroying the Socialist countries."

—Soviet note on Cuba Sept. 11.

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Rep. Lindsay Shows Jerome Wiesner Evasive on Radioactive Iodine Danger

The Weaknesses of the New UN Radiation Committee Report

The Second Report of the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation is disappointingly vague and disturbingly unanimous. In the presentation of the first report in 1958, there were minority efforts made by the Soviet bloc to call for immediate cessation of testing and by the Indians to put the Committee on record against "any activity" which could increase radiation hazards. This time there seems to have been no fight to go beyond an antiseptic sentence piously concluding that "the achievement of a final cessation of nuclear tests would benefit present and future generations of mankind."

Dr. Shields Warren, the U.S. representative on the 15-nation committee, has always been associated with a ready acquiescence in official reassurances. This time, with both blocs testing and neither anxious to emphasize the dangers of fallout, the new report seems to be a triumph for this type of scientist. No annex provides data on the new Soviet and U.S. tests though these are the most concentrated the world has seen.

Those Deceptive World Averages

A change in the mode of presentation cuts down the report's usefulness. As Donald Keys of SANE pointed out,

The 1958 report gave estimates of risk to persons living in different parts of the world and subject to differing conditions. It also gave ranges within which the limits of effects to individuals would be expected to fall, and of the numbers of people to be affected. The new report deals only with weighted world averages, impossible to translate to regional or local conditions, and omits any reference to the numbers of individuals who will suffer certain types of defects. The risks, posed as world averages, are compared with the risks of medical and natural radiation on a world scale. By defining the wealth of new material available to it in such narrow terms, the report is seriously limited in usefulness as a basis for sound decision-making and provides reassurance for those who wish to minimize the hazards of nuclear testing.

A serious gap in the new report is the rather cursory attention given to shorter lived radioactive substances like Iodine-131. It admits in passing that the discovery that fallout comes down faster than earlier expected "will somewhat increase" fallout hazards because of these lesser known nuclides. But studies have shown that these are far more serious than hitherto believed and add greatly to the hazards, especially to infants whose thyroids may be damaged by radioactive iodine.

In a speech to the House Sept. 4, Rep. John Lindsay, a young New York Republican who has distinguished himself by his alertness, made public an exchange of letters with the White House on this subject. The letter by Dr. Jerome Wiesner as the President's scientific adviser was evasive and misleading and supports the theory that, as Mr. Lindsay put it, the Administration is afraid to act on the radioactive iodine danger lest this "provide additional ammunition to the opponents of nuclear testing."

Tenth Pugwash Produces Little

The final statement adopted by the Tenth Pugwash Conference on Science and Moral Affairs says "We are now at a stage in which general statements of principles are not enough: action is needed." Unfortunately the delegates had difficulty in getting beyond the usual generalities about the dangers of nuclear war. The only concrete idea in it was the suggestion that test inspection differences be bypassed by the use of "automatic sealed seismic stations" which "would be put in places in agreed numbers by the host nation after being sealed by an international authority." The London Times reported Sept. 8 that Soviet Academician I. E. Tamm told a press conference this would greatly reduce the number of unidentified events and that the seals would make it possible to detect any tampering with the stations. A similar proposal for unmanned stations was made many months ago, but only as a supplement to manned listening posts. The only other point at which the statement became at all specific was in a paragraph suggesting that the early elimination of the means of delivering weapons of mass destruction be "linked with substantial reductions of conventional military forces." This formula might bridge Soviet-American differences on the first stage of disarmament if either capital wanted to bridge them at this time, which we doubt.

Some of America's Biggest Drug Firms Found in Violation of Health Standards

Some of America's largest drug firms figure on the lists supplied by the Food and Drug Administration to the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee of (1) those concerns found in violation of anti-biotic standards and (2) those which have refused on various occasions to permit inspection. The lists and the FDA's comments have been given little attention in the press, for they step on the toes of powerful advertisers.

The disclosures indicate the urgent need for House action on S1552 as unanimously passed by the Senate. This would extend controls to all anti-biotics and tighten up powers of inspection. Under the present law only the five anti-biotics in existence in 1949 are covered. The lists show that under this law, firms as large and reputable as the Upjohn Co.; Squibb's; Parke, Davis; Lederle Labs; Chas. Pfizer; Merck Sharpe & Dohme; Commercial Solvents and Eli Lilly have on many occasions in the last two fiscal years been caught marketing sizeable quantities of sub-standard drugs. The drugs, the size of the shipments, the dates and the nature of the violation were given by the FDA. Some of the same firms appear on the list of those which have refused to permit Food and Drug inspections.

The significance of the disclosures lies in the light it casts on the familiar claim of these big companies that their brand names and reputations provide sufficient protection, and make the sale of drugs under generic names unwise. The FDA report also shows shocking instances of health and safety standard violations in the food and cosmetic industries, which are not covered by the Senate bill. Unfortunately to widen the bill now would be to ensure that no bill was passed at this session.

"The deformed baby" scandal made it impossible for the drug lobby to frustrate Kefauver's years of effort for reform. The bill as passed by the Senate marks a big step forward. The drug interests would like to kill it in the House either by frontal attack or by so widening the bill as to make final action impossible this session. They may succeed unless pressure is mobilized for House passage of S1552. One way to ensure yourself of safer and cheaper drugs is to write your Congressman now.

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Berlin and Cuban Events at The Mercy of Men Authorized to Play Dirty Tricks

Now, Before, and Not "After", Is The Time to Reopen Debate on the CIA

The Berlin and Cuban crises should remind us to ask ourselves: What is the CIA doing? The democratic process is crippled by the existence of a huge intelligence apparatus which has two secret ways of affecting policy. One is the character of the advice it supplies as intelligence. The other is its power to create the trouble it is supposed to detect by carrying on all kinds of covert activity, affecting friends and enemies alike. That West Berlin rioter hurling stones at an American soldier may himself be a CIA man.

In an address here to the American Political Science Association, Prof. Harry Howe Ransom declared that the CIA has become "a multi-purpose organization, engaged in a number of disparate 'strategic services'." He warned again, as so many warned after the last Cuban invasion, that its clandestine activities should be separated from its informational services lest these be distorted to justify its planned adventures. "Here the self-fulfilling prophecy," Prof. Ransom said, "is perhaps the most common danger." He recalled that in Korea, Laos and Cuba, experience had shown that "selection of only those bits of 'intelligence' justifying a given plan's practicability courts disaster." Unfortunately he also noted in a footnote to his talk, "While there was much speculation, after Cuba, about reconstituting CIA as an exclusively information-gathering agency, assigning clandestine political and para-military missions elsewhere, such radical surgery apparently had not been performed as of August 1962."

Is A New Cuban Invasion In The Works?

The day Prof. Ransom spoke there were charges that a new Cuban invasion was in the making. The UPI ticker reported from Mexico City Cuban Ambassador Lechuga told a press conference that men were being trained in camps in Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti and the Dominican Republic for an attack on Cuba. He said a foreign vessel loaded with arms and painted with Cuban markings would be "captured" en route to Venezuela as a pretext to launch the invasion."

We have no way of verifying these charges. All we know is that last time the Cubans proved to be better informed about invasion plans than we Americans were. In the war with Spain we never did find out who blew up the Maine, but at least then we didn't have a secret branch of government set up to engage in just such operations.

Prof. Ransom quoted Allen W. Dulles as saying in 1954 that in intelligence work you had to "take certain things on faith" and judge by results. But free government, Prof. Ransom pointed out, is not supposed to operate on "faith." As for results, "by what criteria," he asked, "can one judge such inevitable 'results' as the role of the CIA in ousting Premier Mossadegh in Iran in 1953, its role in the coup d'etat in Guatemala in 1954, in the Hungarian uprisings in 1956, in Laos, in Berlin, and in numerous other clandestine activities, some of which apparently were failures?" These are again urgent questions now when secret operatives, by accident or design, may take us over the brink.

How U-2s Can Be Not "Stationed" Where They Are Stationed

"After the Russian [U-2 over Sakhalin] charge, the 5th Air Force unit, which includes units in Japan, Korea and Okinawa, promptly refused to discuss the U-2 airplane and said it had been directed to refer all inquiries on that type of aircraft to Washington. In Washington military leaders said no U-2s are stationed in Japan.

"Then they also announced that no U-2s are stationed on Okinawa, one jet hour away. This becomes an interesting exercise in military semantics. The key word is 'stationed.' U-2s do fly from Okinawa, and at any given time an incoming passenger on a commercial flight to Naha may glance out the window of his plane at the runways of Kadena Air Force Base and see several of the craft lined up on a concrete apron. But under the military definition of the word, units are 'stationed' at their home bases. Thus a bomber unit can be 'stationed' in Arizona but flying out of Clark Air Force Base in the Philippines. U-2s operate out of Clark, too, incidentally."

—Ted Sell from Tokyo, Los Angeles Times Foreign Service, in Washington Post, Sept. 9.

U-2s For Chiang—A Warning of How Reckless and Arrogant the CIA Can Be

The most important part of the U-2 flight over China is the date on which we "sold" two of the planes to Chiang Kai-shek. This was July, 1960, just two months after the U-2 flight over Russia wrecked the summit meeting, and Eisenhower promised there would be no more flights over the Soviet Union. Imagine the uproar if it had become known at the time that in the wake of this disaster the CIA was negotiating secretly to give the planes to Chiang.

The deal reflects dangerous qualities on the part of this secret bureaucracy—bravado, arrogance, recklessness. It is difficult to believe that CIA would have dared go into this deal if there were a Joint Congressional Committee on Intelligence to oversee its operations as recommended to the Hoover Commission in 1955 by Gen. Mark W. Clark and proposed in the bill Senator Mansfield and 34 co-sponsors tried unsuccessfully to get through Congress the following year.

The same questions which were raised at the time of the May, 1960, flight ought to be raised now. Who authorized it? Prof. Ransom in his address to the American Political Science Association recalled that neither the President nor the Secretaries of Defense and State knew the U-2 was over the Soviet Union on May 1, 1960. Who, within the next few weeks, allowed the Chinese deal, using as a "cover" the same Lockheed Aircraft Corporation which was used in the earlier affair? Have these planes been transferred to any other ally or to any private group acting as a front for the CIA?

These are not run-of-the-mill secrets. They involve major questions of policy, in the area of the war-making power, where Congress ought to have some means of knowing what is going on. The absence of Congressional supervision very probably leads also to a slackness in executive supervision because no one expects to be found out. A country in an uproar because the Russians have given 25-mile range anti-aircraft guns to Cuba shows a perilous blindness when it so takes for granted the transfer to Chiang of a plane which can overfly the whole Eurasion continent. How do we make sure it will carry only cameras? What if those "winds" blow it over into Siberia?

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Contrast Between the Soblen and Artukovic Cases; Three Items of Cuban War Hysteria

How Diem Tries to Stifle Honest Reporting Out of South Vietnam

The Right to Know: The Moss subcommittee on freedom of information, which frightened HEW last week-end into releasing a suppressed report on birth control, would perform another public service by looking into the expulsion of *Newsweek's* correspondent Francois Sully from South Vietnam. Intervention in South Vietnam is costing the U.S. many millions and some lives; nowhere is there greater need for a free flow of information. Sully's expulsion order followed on the heels of *Newsweek's* August 20 issue, "Vietnam: The Unpleasant Truth." Press difficulties also seem to reflect the U.S. Embassy's attitude; correspondents who do not follow its pro-Diem "party line" are regarded with disfavor. Last spring Diem tried to expel Sully and Homer Bigart of the *New York Times.* U.S. Ambassador Nolting persuaded Diem to defer action. Since then the independent minded Bigart has been recalled and Sully has been ousted. Both should be asked to tell their story.

Soblen and Artukovic: The death of Dr. Robert Soblen in London will leave a bitter taste in the mouths of Britons and Israelis who realize that under their laws espionage is a political and therefore not an extraditable offense. They may contrast this unrelenting hunt for a dying man with the snail-like pace of the U.S. government's proceeding to deport Andrija Artukovic whom the Yugoslavs have long wanted to try as a participant in Nazi war crimes during the German occupation. A final order for his deportation to Yugoslavia was issued almost ten years ago, but six years later a U.S. Commissioner in California ruled that his crimes were political and he was therefore not extraditable. A Detroiter who wrote the Attorney General recently to ask about the case was informed that the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service was trying "to obtain a travel document for deportation to some other country but to date has been unsuccessful."

One Way to Save Money: Last Monday William Albertson went before the Subversive Activities Control Board in the first test of the Internal Security Act requirement that Communist Party members register. This is one of four separate sets of test cases now underway. Gus Hall and Benjamin Davis are to be tried for failing to register the Party. Three organizations go before the Court of Appeals here October 3 to test the first orders requiring registration as Communist fronts: the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the National Council of Soviet American Friendship and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. An appeal is pending by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers against registration as a "Communist infiltrated" trade union. This litigation will be long and costly. No other country in the "free world" has so few Communists and will spend so much money trying to get them registered. It would be cheaper quietly to pension them off.

Election Bulletin

Unofficial returns from Vermont show former Congressman Wm. H. Meyer polled 4,075 votes to the 5,863 cast for the organization candidate, Johnson, in the fight for the Democratic Senate nomination. That he could do so well in this lonely fight is a reminder of what a little outside aid could have done for him and could do, if given in time, for other peace candidates, especially Hughes in Massachusetts. It is a pleasure to record that another Congressional voice for peace, Wm. Fitts Ryan of New York, defeated a right wing machine candidate for renomination by 26,000 votes to 18,000. Ryan fought the House Un-Americans and defied the China lobby. His success should inspire others.

No Way to Lean: The NLRB Sept. 6 upheld the discharge of five employes by a Miami shoe concern because a Dade County, Fla., Criminal Intelligence Unit man checked them out "as being pro-Castro or leaning towards Castro" . . . *Tell-Tale Nose Rings:* The AP from Miami (*Washington Star* Sept. 9) quoted newly arrived refugees as saying the Russians were bringing Congolese to Cuba, too; they were spotted because some "had rings in their noses." This should give Senator Dodd a chance to combine two favorite campaigns and call for action against Leopoldville as well as Havana. . . . *Reportedly Reporting:* We nominate for some kind of journalism award the Copley News Service dispatch in the war-like *Washington Daily News* Sept. 3 which was headlined, "Report Reds Will Launch Rocket From Cuba" and began, "The State Dept. reportedly is studying reports that Russia plans to launch a 3-stage scientific rocket from Cuba in the near future. . . ."

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